



A GENERATION WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY

MILITARISING CRIME PREVENTION: Adding fire to fire

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large organisation such as the HSRC - based in four provinces (Gauteng, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal) and across different research units - faces specific challenges. One of these is that its workforce only interacts when working on specific projects, and although our research projects are often multi-disciplinary, involving people from different research units, contact remains limited.

We found the solution to better collegiality by organising an internal research conference, attended by all researchers,

every second year. For two days researchers have the opportunity to present and discuss their work, share research methodologies, and to debate issues on the role and nature of our research and how to maximise its impact.

The theme of this year's conference, to take place mid-September, is occasioned by a need to understand the current global economic and financial crisis and to inform appropriate public policy responses, which is one of the major challenges facing contemporary social-science scholarship.

In addition to the systemic and global dimensions of the crisis, there are specific ramifications, implications and opportunities for our mother continent Africa, the SADC, South Africa and the HSRC.

In all corners of the world fundamental philosophical stances that reified the market and demonised the state are being abandoned. Policy-makers think the unthinkable and our peers across the disciplines and professions are asking themselves questions such as 'can social science help solve the economic crisis?' Could it be that with world markets in turmoil, an unexpected and overlooked continent may benefit from its very isolation?

The current global economic and financial crisis and the associated philosophical shifts, public policy responses and civil-society activism require interrogation and the proactive involvement of the entire human and social-science research community at the HSRC.

Drawing upon the experiences of the 1929 to 1939 period of depression in history, it is clear that the contemporary global economic crisis carries with it the risk of spawning varied social, political and military crises.

Some of these important research questions include how African countries could pursue policy and programme options that ensure social protection, growth, nation-building and regional integration. Another question is what new global governance, economic and financial systems are appropriate for addressing the challenges of today; and what issues in the relationship between global, regional and local knowledge production are highlighted by the crisis?

What contributions can social science, public engagement and activism make in this period of rapture, transformation and transition? And how will the global crisis impact and shape the work and workings of the HSRC?

We will report back in the November HSRC Review on the outcomes of the discussions on these important issues.



NEWSROUNDUP

NEW@THEHSRC

RESEARCHING VIOLENT CRIME

A team of researchers from the programme on Democracy and Governance (D&G) came back from a visit to Brazil and Colombia with a deepened understanding of the challenges the high levels of violence represent for the long-term consolidation of democracy in South Africa, says team member Suren Pillay.

They gained knowledge on formulating innovative social interventions to address these challenges at a local policy level. The visit followed a successful international workshop in Cape Town earlier this year to establish a research network on violent crime.

Pillay, Vanessa Barolsky and Diana Sanches met with former mayor, Professor Antanas Mockus, in Bogotá, Colombia. Mockus visited the HSRC in March this year, and explained his approach to developing policies which create safer communities. His presentation was enthusiastically received by policy-makers in South Africa at provincial and national levels.

The D&G team conducted extensive interviews with key administrators involved in the successful implementation of policy there which radically reduced the homicide rates in Bogotá over a ten-year period. They also held meetings with civic, youth and private sector organisations who have implemented innovative strategies to assist in creating safer communities through the cultivation of citizenship based on the respect for life.

In Brazil, meetings were held with colleagues at the State University of Rio, the UN-Habitat division of Brazil, and the Centre for the Study of Violence at the University of Saõ Paulo. Visits were also undertaken to NGO projects working on addressing violence in the *favelas* – the poor areas of São Paulo and Rio. The levels of inequality and violence that characterise these cities, and the patterns of racial and urban segregation, suggest that key lessons and experiences can be usefully shared by consolidating active research and policy partnerships with organisations in Brazil in the future, Pillay said. (Also read Suren Pillay's opinion piece on page 8.)



Professor Antanas Mockus, the former mayor of Bogotá, Colombia, explaining his approach to developing policies which create safer communities, during his visit to the HSRC in March 2009.





MR COLLEN MAKOMANE, was appointed as a senior programmer in Knowledge Systems (KS). He holds a BSc in Mathematical Statistics at the University of Limpopo. Before joining the HSRC he worked as assistant director of the Health Research unit at the national Department of Health.

DR PELIWE MNGUNI, a research specialist in the Democracy and Governance programme, joined the HSRC from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) and the Swinburne University of Technology in Australia where she was a lecturer in leadership and organisation dynamics. She obtained a doctorate in leadership and organisation dynamics from Swinburne University of Technology and an MA in Social Research Methods from the University of Melbourne.









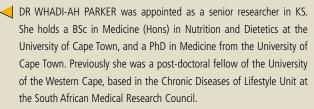




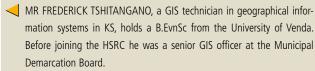
Systems unit in Knowledge Systems (KS) as a PhD research fellow. He obtained a BSc in Environmental Sciences and an MSc in Geographical and Environmental Sciences from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). He previously worked as a GIS and remote sensing demonstrator and tutor at UKZN, Durban.

MR THOLANG MOKHELE has joined the Geographical Information

DR PETER NJUHO was appointed as a senior research specialist in the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health (SAHA) research programme. He holds a PhD from Kansas State University and an MSc from North Carolina State University, USA, both in Applied Statistics. Before joining the HSRC, Dr Njuho worked as a senior lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg Campus).



- DR NELIA STEYN, a chief research specialist in KS, holds a Master's in Public Health at the University of Cape Town, and a PhD in Community Health at the University of Stellenbosch. Before joining the HSRC she was the interim director of the Chronic Diseases of Lifestyle Unit at the Medical Research Council.
- PROFESSOR JOSEPH TEFFO, who was appointed as a research director in the Democracy and Governance programme, holds a Bachelor of Law (LLB), and a PhD in Philosophy from the University of the North (now the University of Limpopo), and a Licentiate in Philosophy at the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium). Before joining the HSRC he was executive dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Limpopo.



NEWSROUNDUP

Home truths on children, AIDS and poverty

The South African launch of the report, Home Truths: Facing the Facts on Children, AIDS, and Poverty, described as an 'excellent' report by The Lancet medical journal, took place on 11 August in Pretoria. The report, based on two years' research and analysis by the Joint Learning Initiative on Children and HIV/AIDS, was first launched internationally in London in February. Present at the South African launch were from left, Professor Linda Richter, one of the authors of the report, Dr Olive Shisana, CEO of the HSRC, and Minister of Women, Youth, Children and People with Disabilities, Ms Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya. Articles based on the report have been published in previous editions of the HSRC Review. The full report is available on www.hsrc.ac.za.



IN WINTER, THE PEOPLE OF MNXEKAZI ARE THIRSTY

Marka nxekzxi is spread out over a wide area on the steep mountainous region of Tabankulu in the Eastern Cape. While in the rainy season people use spring water, in the dry season water has to be collected from the strong-flowing but turbid waters of the Umzimvubu River, crossing a steep and difficult terrain.

The Safe Drinking Water Project, initiated by the Department of Science and Technology and executed in a partnership between the HSRC and the CSIR, is working on finding a solution for water delivery in Mnxekzxi and two other isolated rural areas in the Eastern Cape. The project was launched earlier this year.

The project distinguishes itself in the relationship between the 'hard' and 'soft' sciences, says Dr David Hemson, the project leader. The HSRC's contribution is to develop the capacity of communities to engage with municipalities and service providers, undertake health and hygiene promotion themselves, and continue after implementation in ensuring a sustainable operation and health benefits. The CSIR is developing an affordable technological solution that includes a communal water station designed to provide safe drinking water at the water source.

These objectives are achieved through social facilitation and training. The HSRC has developed a rigorous programme for task team members in community management, training of trainers, and partnerships with local government. A community model of health and hygiene promotion is being developed which will result in health clubs and household visits to ensure the necessary impact.

The Safe Drinking Water Project requires patient explaining to political leaders and to the people who will use the water. Says Hemson, 'It is critically important that the departments of provincial and local government and water affairs and environment are involved in the implementation of the project and participate from the beginning if replication is to be achieved.'



Councillor Nqukhwe points to the turbid waters of the Umzimvubu River and indicates the height and the long distances between houses and water in Mnxekazi, Eastern Cape.



David Hemson tastes the ground water at a borehole in Mnxekazi. People do not drink this water because it is brackish.

EquitAble access to healthcare for the disabled

The 'EquitAble' project, which stands for 'enabling universal and equitable access to healthcare for vulnerable people in resource-poor settings in Africa', funded by the European Union's Funding Programme 7, in which the HSRC's Ms Margie Schneider is a participant, will run for four years in four African countries, namely Namibia, Malawi, Sudan and South Africa. The team leader is Professor MacLachlan from Trinity College in Dublin.

The other two South African partners are Stellenbosch University and the Secretariat of the African Decade for Persons with Disabilities. The project focuses on people with activity limitations (a proxy for disability) and looks at their access to healthcare in four sites in each of the four participating African countries.

EquitAble aims to look at the relative role of activity limitations alone, or in combination with, other vulnerability factors in generating inequitable access to healthcare. The information provided by this study will not only show the importance of considering disability in a mainstream manner as one of a range of possible vulnerability factors, but will provide useful information on how to develop policies and strategies to ensure equitable access to healthcare for all people.

BRIDGE over troubled waters

For South Africa to succeed in achieving its developmental objectives, a new pact needs to be forged between the government, employer organisations and unions, according to Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, Bert Koenders. OMANO EDIGHEJI reports.

oenders was the keynote speaker at a workshop, titled 'Enhancing state capacity through partnerships: Lessons of the Netherlands' experience for South Africa', hosted by the HSRC's Centre for Africa's Social Progress (CASP) and the Policy Analysis and Capacity Development unit.

The current global economic crisis has led to the demise of the Washington Consensus with its reliance on market forces, said Mr Koenders, making a compelling case for an active and strong role for the state in development.

'Market forces by themselves can no longer be seen as the solution to economic growth, and governments are no longer the stumbling block,' he said. Consequently, what is required is to build effective and efficient states and markets. In every successful country, governments play a critical role by complementing and regulating the market. South Africa is a case in point: successful regulation of the financial sector prevented financial institutions from running amok.

The balance between markets and state should be based on an analysis of the country-specific bottlenecks for social and economic development. This consequently calls for reinventing 'the building of strong, but necessarily large institutions, based on a social contract which links the planners at the top to the people on the ground'. We need a delivery state, he said, which is based on input and signals from the poor and disenfranchised, and on a broader set of clear objectives through which a national consensus is built.

He drew attention to how the Netherlands used partnership between government and non-state actors to resolve its developmental challenges, pointing to the 1980s when the Dutch government, employers' organisations and unions forged a national consensus to resolve problems of negative growth, high and increasing unemployment, and a lack of trust.

All three parties were willing to abandon longestablished policy positions in a forum called the Social Economic Council (SER). As an example, unions agreed to the relaxation of hiring and firing laws; employers agreed to create several hundred thousand new jobs; and government agreed to the relaxation of regulation and the fiscal burden on both companies and consumers. This compromise led to a long period of growth.

Koenders then suggested South Africa can learn from the experience of the SER, for example, by building a national consensus through NEDLAC that would promote flexibility and security for workers, and at the same time ensure national competitiveness.

He pointed out that the importance of a social contract is already recognised in South Africa. Accordingly, he drew attention to the Dinokeng Scenarios which were the product of a broad group of South Africans. Some of the critical success factors articulated by the authors of the Dinokeng Scenarios were that all these parties engage and cooperate to increase accountability, build the capacity of the state, deliver core public services, and develop a common identify and nationhood. He said a country like South Africa with its developmental challenges requires a 'delivery state',

underpinned by strong partnerships among the South African stakeholders.

He also referred to the panel of Harvard economists who identified several structural constraints to economic growth in South Africa, including low market participation, lack of skills, poor service delivery, uncertainty about land reform, strict labour laws and the fact that BEE does not benefit enough people.

Koenders raised some critical issues and while commending the labour laws, he suggested that it might be useful to strike 'a better balance between insiders and outsiders in the labour market', especially in the current economic crisis. Without such a balance it might be difficult to hire new people, hampering efforts at job creation.

He further raised the issue whether the quality of education suffers in the context of strong teacher unions trying to protect the interests of teachers rather than those of the education sector as a whole.

Dr Omano Edigheji, who coordinated the workshop, is a director in the Policy Analysis and Capacity Development unit.

TEENAGE TATA

young fathers take responsibility

Discussions around teenage pregnancy have to date focused on young mothers. However, in keeping with the HSRC's focus on fatherhood, a new study highlights the voices and experiences of young fathers in poor communities, report SHARLENE SWARTZ and ARVIN BHANA.



he aim of the study was simple: If we knew more about these young men's lives, our programmes, practices, policies and prejudices may be challenged. Subsequently, the Teenage Tata study (*tata* is the isiXhosa for father), funded by Save the Children Sweden, offers a unique window into the worlds of 27 young black South African men, aged between 14 and 20. It gives voice to the unheard cries of 'boys' discovering what it means to be 'men' and parents in the midst of the harsh economic and complex cultural realities of South Africa.

Despite their wide-ranging experiences of disappointment and frustration – with themselves, with their inability to find work and support the child financially; with being excluded from their child's life through cultural restrictions; and with their powerlessness to negotiate relationships with the mother of their child's family – the study ultimately showcases young fathers' sense of responsibility towards their children and their emotional investment in them.

STRONG EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

As young fathers shared their stories of mistimed and (mostly) unplanned fatherhood, and how deeply they wanted to be good fathers, they displayed a kaleidoscope of emotions: 'scared', 'shocked', 'ashamed', 'happy', 'excited'. Most keenly expressed, however, was the high level of responsibility that these young men feel towards their children. And how paralysed and inadequate they feel when they cannot provide for them.

'Some guys run away when the baby's born [because] he thinks like "No man, I don't have money, so I'm worse for my baby", so they run away,' explained Onathi. These young men further spoke of three main reasons for accepting their child as theirs: knowledge that they had made the girl pregnant; fear of the consequences of denying the child (community censure and 'bad luck'); and the role of their own fathers in their lives.

Despite their wide-ranging experiences of disappointment and frustration . . . the study ultimately showcases young fathers' sense of responsibility towards their children and their emotional investment in them.

Ironically, some young fathers explained that it was the fact that their father had not denied paternity that encouraged them to accept it, whilst others argued the exact opposite. No matter what the reason for accepting their children, the strongest discourse remained one of taking responsibility.

For the majority of these young men this sense of responsibility was tied in to their sense of masculinity. The word 'responsible' and 'man' were frequently used in the same sentence: 'I'm a grown up now - I'm a man - I have to be responsible,' announces Sifiso.

FRUSTRATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Besides the sense of responsibility these young men felt after the fact, they were also quick to point out their lack of responsibility that resulted in conceiving the child in the first place: 'Not listening during sex education classes'; 'Having multiple partners' (or 'spare wheels'); 'Not believing pregnancy would happen to me'; 'Failing to use condoms' (preferring instead sex 'skin to skin' or 'meat to meat'). Most expressed deep disappointment in themselves.

Others spoke of the frustration they felt with their culture. Speaking of his estrangement from his child, Lwandile poignantly commented: 'You know, in our culture, if you are a boy you have nothing to say.' He was referring to the way in which his family had managed negotiations, damage payments and his schooling so that he was not deterred from career ambitions through having to be concerned about a child. The result, in the words of his close friend, summarised the effect of this cultural practice: 'Now it seems like you do not care about [the child].'

These young men also spoke of the changes that accompanied the arrival of their children. The first concern was money. They resigned themselves to having less money to spend on themselves. Giving up school and taking on work was another change, like Jabu who said, 'I'm now responsible. I know I have to work.' Consequently, failure to find work left young men despondent and hopeless.

For many, social activities on weekends also changed dramatically due to a shift in priorities. The young men spoke of no longer wanting to be involved in dangerous activities such as drinking in taverns, fighting or stealing. These life changes reflect young men's conscious choices as they take on the responsibility of being fathers.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE YOUNG MEN

The young fathers had much to say about what might have helped them avoid premature fatherhood. Many spoke of the need and desire for open communication about sex from adult males in their family: 'Elders shouldn't be shy to talk about sex to young people.' Another factor was the lack of leisure activities and entertainment in their communities.

They also offered insights about what would help

them be the parents they so desired to be. Increased employment opportunities were consistently cited as a real need. Those who had stopped school to get a job out of a sense of responsibility now find themselves struggling to find work. They expressed the need for educational and employment assistance in various forms, ranging from providing skills to young fathers, to government supplied crèche facilities at school and in the community.

A strong theme was the idea that providing support through peer educator networks would be a great help to the young fathers.

Another plea for help was for emotional skills, like coping with stress and knowing how to communicate, especially with the young mother's family.

CONCLUSION

These 27 young men have tried to navigate the world of fatherhood when many themselves still need to be fathered. While they reflect only one side of the story – taking responsibility rather than running way – it is a story frequently unheard. Their remarkable commitment and maturity against the backdrop of poverty and complex cultural expectations offer hope for policy and programmatic interventions.

They are not invisible in their communities yet service providers frequently fail to accommodate their needs. Young fathers need to be brought together in small community groups, and helped with practical and emotional needs.

It is shocking how few services exist for these young men. They are not invisible in their communities yet service providers frequently fail to accommodate their needs. Young fathers need to be brought together in small community groups, and helped with practical and emotional needs. In turn they offer strong insider advice to their younger friends and brothers: 'Wear condoms', 'Don't mix alcohol and sex' and 'Be responsible' as one night of passion leads to a lifetime of fatherhood. Their message is clear. Having a child whilst a teenager is not a tragedy – but it is difficult.

Dr Sharlene Swartz is a sociologist and researcher at the Child, Youth, Family and Social Development (CYFSD) research programme and a visiting research fellow with the Centre for Commonwealth Education, University of Cambridge. Professor Arvin Bhana is a psychologist, the deputy executive director at CYFSD, and an adjunct associate professor in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The research monograph titled Teenage Tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa is available from the HSRC Press or for free download at www.hsrcpress.ac.za.

IN CONVERSATION WITH NADIA SANGER

SEMENYA'S GENDER: the right to be

SEMENYA AND DIFFERENCE

ew who have studied the photographs or footage of Semenya's famous race and its aftermath will have failed to notice her androgynous features. She has a six pack that would put any biological man to shame. Her biceps are large and powerful. She seems to have facial hair. She is strong, hugely athletic and runs like the wind.

Caster Semenya clearly doesn't fit the model. She presents herself in a particular way that is not the way society might prefer.

So what is it about this image that makes us uncomfortable? Is it perhaps that she doesn't look like a 'woman', at least in the way in which we have come to accept how women are meant to appear?

This non-conformity is acceptable to a degree among those young people who body-pierce, get tattoos, go punk or Goth while experimenting with their gender identities.

It is less acceptable when men and women shrug off the binary classifications laid down by society, the church and often the law and take up positions that don't fit. This makes us uncomfortable, disapproving and, at times, murderous.

Members of the 070707 Campaign acting to end homophobic hate found that the murder and 'corrective' rape of black lesbians in South African townships are frequently linked to these women's appearance. They look too 'butch'. They do not fit the norm, and therefore they must be taught a lesson, or disposed of.

Caster Semenya clearly doesn't fit the model. She



The controversy surrounding South Africa's new female 800 metre world champion, Caster Semenya, has created a hugely important space in which we can publicly talk about gender and gender presentation in our post-apartheid nation. And if there is one conclusive finding with which we can walk away from this episode, it is that gender and how we present our bodies rarely matters.

presents herself in a particular way that is not the way society might prefer.

THE FALLIBILITY OF SCIENCE

Faced by this disjuncture, what does the athletics fraternity do? They turn to science.

Even though, as feminists have been arguing for decades, gender is a social construct that is taught and learned, society appeals to science to intervene.

Science of course has its uses, it would be churlish to suggest otherwise. But science also has a bit of a chequered history when it comes to measuring social characteristics like race, gender, intelligence and ethnicity.

You don't have to dig far into our own national past to find scientists and bureaucrats doing peculiar things to determine identity, like measuring the lumps on our heads or running a comb through our hair.

You don't have to dig far into our own national past to find scientists and bureaucrats doing peculiar things to determine identity, like measuring the lumps on our heads or running a comb through our hair.

Science is brilliant (but not flawless) for detecting cheats who take performance-enhancing drugs. Semenya, by the way, has never been found to have done this and we all know that top athletes are constantly tested.

APPEARANCE AND IDENTITY

So the controversy is not about Semenya's chemical make-up, nor is it about her taking illegal substances;

it seems to be about what she 'is' based on how she looks – whether she has a penis or is in some way chromosomically advantaged as a biological man. The big controversy is about difference – about how Semenya blurs what we think of as normal in terms of gender.

In spite of our national celebration of diversity as one of our most important political and constitutional principles, we are simply not very good at it. We are not very tolerant of difference. Indeed we dislike it intensely.

A recent study conducted by the HSRC found that more than 80% of South Africans think homosexuality is always wrong. This portrays a ubiquitous intolerance that is already playing itself out in the hate crimes being committed against lesbian and gay citizens and in the xenophobic violence that has killed and displaced so many people in our country in the last year.

Our constitution, and the long struggle that lies behind it, is predicated on the idea that we want people to be able to be whatever they want to be. We want to try to dissolve binaries around gender, race, class, geographic location, sexual orientation and disability.

But we cannot do that if someone who doesn't fit into our binaries gets treated as a spectacle and has to undergo a series of invasive procedures and tests to ensure they are placed in the right box.

One can only imagine the embarrassing, humiliating procedure of genital screening and gender testing that Semenya will have to endure at the hands of scientists in Berlin. The body and one's prescribed gender identity are not the same thing, after all, as scholars have pointed out for years.

Indeed, some argue that there are many genders, even if only two are formally recognised.

THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT

What this treatment of Semenya indicates is that we are unwilling to allow people to be different from what we expect. And if they insist on making their difference public, we will make a spectacle of them, interrogate them and test them until we can categorise them appropriately.

This is profound intolerance, whether we are hoping to evaluate sexuality, gender, race or disability.

Semenya's story is making us question our principles, our tolerance of difference and the way in which our institutions define what is normal.

This is a heavy burden for an 18-year-old to endure. The spotlight of curiosity shines as brightly and harshly on Semenya now as it did in the 19th century on Saartje Baartman's body. We are similarly interested in the state and shape of her genitals, in her non-normative body and in her wish to be herself.

Semenya has demonstrated once and for all that gender matters. It matters in how people are treated. It also matters in how people are able to access justice and protect their rights. Perhaps it needed someone with the strength and talent of a world champion to take on this heavy mantle – and still win the race by a mile.

Dr Nadia Sanger is a chief researcher in the research programme on Democracy and Governance.

IN CONVERSATION WITH SUREN PILLAY

Fighting fire with fire BURNS US ALL



There is much cheering for the tough approach to crime that our new police commissioner, Bheki Cele, brings with him, promising to 'fight fire with fire'. On a recent visit to Latin America, SUREN PILLAY witnessed the consequences of this approach in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

THE MILITARISATION OF CRIME

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We arrived in Rio on a Friday morning, and I headed to the apartment of my host, a colleague at a local university, to drop off my luggage before going on to our meetings. Barely inside his apartment, two blocks away from the famously alluring Copacabana beach, I heard a rapid staccato of gun shots.

Waging a war on crime has militarised the situation, and has alienated the poor from the Rio police, and the state.

Outside, hovering in the sky was a police helicopter, exchanging machine gun fire with someone on the ground. My host, who passionately documents police human-rights violations, was outraged. It turns out that across the road is a hotel, and behind that, invisible to me, was a *favela*, as the poor areas of Brazil are known. Imagine if you will, implanting a miniature version of the Cape Flats area of Mannenberg smack in the middle of glamorous Camps Bay and you get the picture. At the end of that day, three young men were dead.

Favelas are vibrant, but more or less self-governing neighbourhoods, run by highly organised gangs who coordinate the drug trade, and who often have the police on their payroll.

Under political pressure, a shoot-to-kill approach adopted by the police some years ago resulted in the gangs seeking to be better armed than the police, setting off an arms race; each side trying to outgun the other. The shootout I witnessed that morning was a typical result.

WHAT THE MIDDLE CLASS WANTS...

Since the inhabitants of the *favelas*, who make up about a quarter of the city's inhabitants, are poor and largely of African descent, the middle class (mostly white), prejudiced by race and class, is happy to turn a blind eye to a police force inclined to dispense punishment without due regard to human-rights concerns, as long as those who live outside the *favelas* are 'safe'.

We visited *favelas* with NGO workers authorised to enter by the local gangs. Young men sat on street corners, lounging but alert sentries, their automatic weapons casually resting by their sides. Young boys worked kites in the skies off rooftops, an efficient communication system immune to electronic surveillance and phone taps.

Not much happens in a *favela* without the permission of the gangs. They provide welfare support, regulate disputes, and dispense justice. In other words, they do what a government might be expected to do.

Under political pressure, a shoot-to-kill approach adopted by the police some years ago, resulted in the gangs seeking to be better armed than the police, setting off an arms race . . .

The effects of conducting a 'war on crime' has meant that the inhabitants of the *favelas* – the poor – often only experience the state in the form of a police force that criminalises them, and their young men in particular. I watched on television one night as police, who had shot a drug dealer dead in a *favela*, were set upon with bricks and bottles by the community. Waging a war on crime has militarised the situation, and has alienated the poor from the Rio police, and the state.

Faced with little choice, it is easy for gang leaders to become more popular among the poor than politicians. It's an intractable situation that is hard to get out of. Like in any war, attitudes harden, weapons and soldiers are mobilised, hatred becomes entrenched and both sides remain intent on annihilating the other through the only tool they have:



force. Day-to-day peace is bought through bribes and corruption. War is bad for markets, even the drug market.

HOW GOVERNMENTS SHOULD RESPOND...

President Zuma has shown a refreshing frankness in speaking about issues that the previous political administration would rather not mention. He has bravely acknowledged the challenge of crime in South Africa. And he has appointed a police commissioner who thrives on displaying a boldness in tackling problems.

These are welcomed qualities. While leaders represent the people, at times they must also lead by being able to see above and beyond what many of us might feel or want. Responding to the loudest voices who complain about crime in South Africa is going to mean thinking that we can reduce violent crime by better, tougher and more policing. This is what 'the public wants to hear'.

But between the policemen and the gangsters exchanging machine gun fire in Rio, I realised that it is unarmed civilians who are caught in the cross fire of a shoot-to-kill policy.

The lesson, learnt by other Brazilian cities like São Paulo and neighbouring Bogotá in Colombia, is that reducing crime only through police force does not lead to feeling safer. Yes, crime does need an effective criminal justice system and there is much that must be done to improve ours. However fighting crime is also done through blunt weapons like effective schools, role models, social workers, psychologists, jobs and doctors. All of the services and evidence that make a population feel that our lives are valued equally.

Fighting crime in communities like ours also has to contend with an important history: there is a wide divergence between the rules enshrined in the law, and what is socially acceptable in the popular morality of many people who have grown up finding short cuts around the law.

This is something we share with many Latin American countries. In Bogotá in Colombia, under Mayor Antanas Mockus, the priority was given to bringing legal morality and social morality closer, with great success in changing behaviour through social sanction, social shaming and social rewards, rather than only through fear of the law.

This encourages us to be better citizens who are more likely to follow rules because we want to, not because we have to. In their case they reduced homicide dramatically over a ten-year period in the 1990s.

This is not what a hysterical public and very vocal middle class might want to hear. It is not the kneejerk reaction of responding to violence with violence. It takes longer, is less spectacular, and requires more resources, creativity and human energy.

While leaders represent the people, at times they must also lead by being able to see above and beyond what many of us might feel or want.

There are important experiences showing that bold political leaders reveal their mettle in times of crisis by calming the rest of us down and providing the wisdom that guides our collective energies to lasting solutions which make us a better and inclusive society. They don't add fire to the fire. We know that we do have bold leaders. It is time for them to lead.

Suren Pillay is a senior research specialist in the programme on Democracy and Governance. He is part of a team conducting an international comparative study of the effects of violent crime on citizenship in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

South Africans at work: How satisfied are we?

Continuous tracking of work values and attitudes towards work remain critical given a concern to improve the quality of people's work life, write BONGIWE MNCWANGO and LOLITA WINNAAR.

hinking about work has changed, and the success of organisations, even their very existence, is now seen as depending on the active involvement and satisfaction of employees, putting workers' job satisfaction at centre stage. These days, knowledge about workers' attitudes and values have become crucial as such factors have been proven to be linked to turnover, absenteeism, productivity as well to one's overall quality of life.

In South Africa, between 1996 and 1998, three important pieces of legislation were passed to eliminate the inequalities of the past and improve working conditions. These were the Labour Relations Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Employment Equity Act. Because of intense interest in the impact of this legislation and the need to monitor the state of workers in changing labour market conditions, many studies have been conducted on the South African labour market.

Despite this, there has been very little comprehensive empirical work on workers' values and on their attitudes towards work, which is important for examining trends in attitudes towards work among the employed over time. Such studies should go beyond guesswork to improve the quality of life in the workplace by measuring knowledge about factors influencing job satisfaction.

A total of 2 884 respondents older than 16 years participated in the 2005 SASAS round, of which 895 indicated that they were employed. Only data from those who were employed was analysed.

Several key determinants of perceived levels of job satisfaction emerged, namely race, living standard measure, and educational attainment.

WORK VALUES

The study evaluated eight aspects relating to work values on a 5-point scale, ranging from very important to not important. Table 1 presents the percentage of workers that perceived the different values as being either important or very important to them in a job, and the percentage that agreed or strongly agreed that the different work attributes characterised their job.

It is evident that job security (99%) had the greatest importance. This was followed by good opportunities for advancement, an interesting job and high income. Working independently and having flexible working hours were rated lowest, though approximately two-thirds of workers still rated these as important job attributes.

Of these, many indicated that that their jobs did not currently provide these attributes, and only about



| Table 1: Work values: what is important to workers and does their job provide these attributes? | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Work attribute | % viewing work attribute as important to a job | % agreeing that work attribute characterises their job | |
| Job security | 99 | 65 | |
| Good opportunities for advancement | 94 | 38 | |
| An interesting job | 93 | 65 | |
| High income | 92 | 28 | |
| A job that allows one to help other people | 88 | 69 | |
| A job that is useful to society | 84 | 68 | |
| A job that allows one to work independently | 81 | 59 | |
| A job that allows one to decide their times or days of work | 66 | | |

a third and two-fifths believed that their job provides them with the listed opportunities. The discrepancy between work values and workplace reality was especially acute in relation to attaining a high income and good prospects for job promotion.

By contrast, nearly two-thirds of workers (65%) believed that their jobs were secure and interesting, while close to 70% supported the view that their job was useful to society and that it enabled them to help other people. This seemed to suggest that workers were relatively more satisfied with the content of their employment (interesting, useful to society, helps others) than its ability to meet their immediate and longer-term material needs.

LEVELS OF JOB SATISFACTION

On the question of 'how satisfied are you in your (main) job?' over 77% of respondents indicated on a six-point scale, ranging from 'completely satisfied' to 'completely dissatisfied' that they were satisfied to a certain extent with their jobs. A sizeable proportion said they were either fairly satisfied (27%), very satisfied (29%), or completely satisfied (21%). About 9% were very dissatisfied, whilst 5% were completely dissatisfied. Another 9% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

It was expected that determinants of job satisfaction would vary by group or individual characteristics. Therefore, a number of factors influencing perceived levels of job satisfaction were investigated.

Several key determinants of perceived levels of job satisfaction emerged, namely race, living standard measure, and educational attainment. Characteristics such as gender, age, and socio-economic characteristics (for example, salary and employment status) were also investigated, but did not yield significant results.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB SATISFACTION

Levels of job satisfaction by race were the strongest predictor of job satisfaction (Figure 1). Black workers were the least likely (69%) to indicate satisfaction with their job when compared to workers from other population groups. Coloured (83%), white (88%) and Indian (95%) workers expressed high levels of satisfaction in their jobs.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB SATISFACTION

Levels of job satisfaction by living standard measure (LMS) showed that workers with low living standards had significantly lower levels (59%) of job satisfaction than those with medium (79%) and high living standards (90%).

JOB SATISFACTION BY EDUCATION

There was a strong relationship between job satisfaction and education (Figure 2), probably because those with no education tend to value their jobs more.

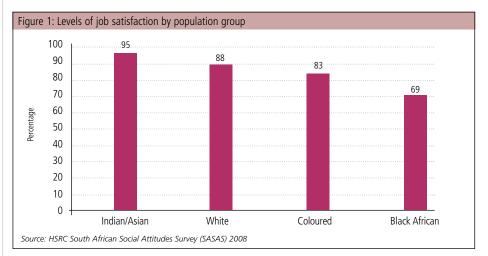
CONCLUSION

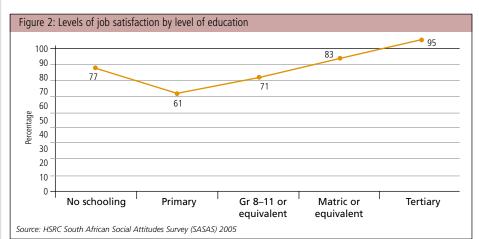
Further investigations are needed to be able to compare the job satisfaction of South African workers with that of workers in other countries, and also to track workers' attitudes towards their jobs in the continuously changing economic and political context. This information should help the government and other relevant organisations in their attempts to improve the quality of life at work.

In summary, the study found that:

- For most working South Africans, job security is the most important aspect of a job.
- Workers appear more satisfied with their job content than the ability of their job to secure their material needs.
- Most South Africans are satisfied with their jobs overall.
- Workers from the black population group are least likely to indicate satisfaction with their jobs.
- Levels of job satisfaction tend to increase with improvement in LSM and rising levels of education.

Bongiwe Mncwango is a senior researcher and Lolita Winnaar a chief programmer in the Centre for Socio-Economic Surveys in Knowledge Systems.





PARADISE ROAD Attitudes to transport and the 2010 FIFA World Cup

With less than a year to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, improvements to public transport are one of the main anticipated benefits. In this article, URMILLA BOB, BEN ROBERTS, UDESH PILLAY and LAVERNE DIMITROV explore public perceptions towards salient transportation issues relating to the mega-event.

ransport preparations and plans remain central to South Africa's successful hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As the 2010 Transport Action Plan notes, South Africa's road infrastructure has suffered from under-investment for many years, with inadequate transport facilities and road congestion inhibiting economic growth and development. Consequently, many major transport projects are currently underway in the country to facilitate the smooth movement of fans to World Cup events and serve the general long-term needs of the public.

> The vast majority of South Africans surveyed (80%) agreed with the statement that roads will be severely congested during the World Cup.

Since 2005, the HSRC's South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) has asked a nationally representative sample of respondents aged 16 years and older a set of questions aimed at assessing their perceptions of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. At the request of the Department of Transport, the 2008 SASAS round included supplementary questions on road congestion and public transport services. This article presents an analysis of the 2008 survey data, which had a sample size of 3 321, together with results from the 2005–2007 rounds on road congestion.

CONGESTION DURING THE WORLD CUP

The vast majority of South Africans surveyed (80%)

agreed with the statement that roads will be severely congested during the World Cup. At the municipality level, the results ranged in a narrow band from 82% (highest) in the City of Cape Town to 78% (lowest) in Ekurhuleni (former East Rand). The results were similar across provinces and socio-economic groups. Respondents from higher income groups and white South Africans expressed greater concern than other groups about the likely readiness of public transport service improvements in time for the World Cup.

In all four survey rounds since 2005 respondents have been asked to identify what they consider to be the main disadvantage of South Africa hosting the 2010 World Cup. While in 2005, road congestion (at 5%) was ranked fifth among the disadvantages mentioned, this response has steadily increased in importance over the years. By 2008, 10% of respondents identified road congestion as the main disadvantage, making it the third highest ranked concern. City of Cape Town and eThekwini (City of Durban) have been more likely over the survey years to identify traffic congestion as a main disadvantage (Table 1). Increasing concern over road congestion associated with the mega-event was evident across most municipalities, with the City of Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni experiencing the largest increases between 2006 and 2007.

Despite the concern about road congestion during the World Cup, most South Africans (75%) believed that it would return to normal levels after the megaevent, with 18% neutral or undecided, and only 7% in disagreement.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICES AND THE WORLD CUP

The majority of South Africans in all locations (77%) were confident that public transport services would improve in time for the World Cup (Figure 1). However, significantly fewer respondents in the City of Cape Town and City of Johannesburg (both 64%) agreed with the

Disaggregated by municipality, residents in the

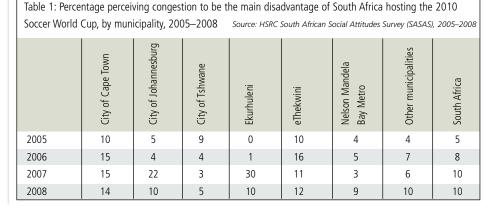
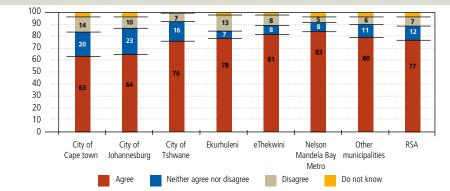
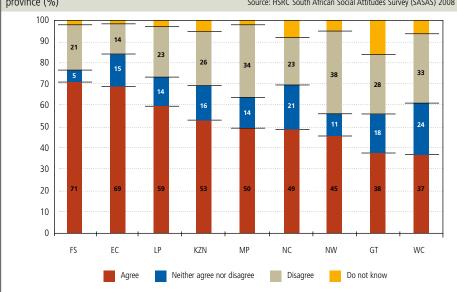




Figure 1: Level of agreement with the statement that public transport services will be improved in time for the World Cup, by municipality (%) Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2008





statement that public transport services would improve in time for the World Cup relative to eThekwini and the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, where the highest levels of agreement were realised (81% and 83%, respectively). This is interesting given that the largest transport project associated with the 2010 FIFA World Cup is the Gautrain project in Johannesburg and Tshwane.

The controversy over the role that minibus-taxis would play during the World Cup remained. However, 80% of respondents agreed that minibus-taxis would be able to transport spectators to games and other venues. This suggested that a sizeable majority perceived a role for minibus-taxis during the World Cup and were confident that they would be able to transport spectators to games and other venues.

The majority of South Africans in all locations (77%) were confident that public transport services would improve in time for the World Cup.

WILL IMPROVEMENTS BE PRO-POOR?

Most respondents expected that the long-term transport benefits associated with the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup would be realised by all South Africans, especially the poor who rely heavily on public transport systems.

There were significant provincial differences in the extent to which people believed that public transport improvements would be pro-poor (Figure 2). The percentage of respondents agreeing with the statement

 Figure 2: Level of agreement with the statement that public transport improvements will benefit the poor, by

 province (%)
 Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2008

continued from page 13

ranged from nearly three-quarters in the Free State (71%) and Eastern Cape (69%) to less than two-fifths in Gauteng (38%) and the Western Cape (37%). Additionally, more than 30% of respondents disagreed with the statement in the North West (38%) and Mpumalanga (34%). The finding that black respondents were more likely to believe that public transport improvements will benefit the poor (53%) compared to white respondents (36%) was also noteworthy.

RIGHT AND READY FOR 2010

While the South African public is anticipating traffic problems during the World Cup, there is a strong belief that public transport improvements with be completed in time.

These findings suggest that planning and preparation to address anticipated problems and minimise disruptions remains a key challenge in addressing transport concerns during the World Cup.

These findings suggest that planning and preparation to address anticipated problems and minimise disruptions remains a key challenge in addressing transport concerns during the World Cup. This includes ensuring benefits to the poor are realised as well as sustaining transport improvement projects. The development of a campaign to encourage and educate private vehicle owners to use public transport during the World Cup may also assist in alleviating traffic congestion during the event.

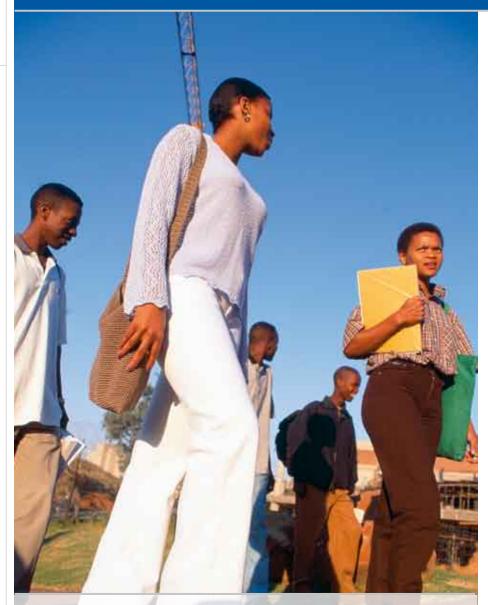
Based on these findings, Minister of Transport Sibusiso Ndebele, made the following recommendations during his 2009 South African Transport Conference address:

- There is a need for integrated transport planning aimed at alleviating traffic congestion during the World Cup.
- These developments must be sustainable beyond the World Cup.
- A comprehensive minibus-taxi strategy regulating the industry must be developed and the taxis' role in the World Cup and beyond clearly defined.
- Infrastructure developments must benefit the poor.

Urmilla Bob is associate professor in the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal; Ben Roberts is a research specialist in the HSRC's Child, Youth, Family and Social Development (CYFSD) research programme; Udesh Pillay is executive director of the HSRC's Centre for Service Delivery; and Laverne Dimitrov is director of research at the Department of Transport.

EDUCATION STUDIES





'Are we producing the skills? No. I don't think we are producing the architects, the accountants, the teachers ... or the skills of social critique. What are universities doing to provide those skills? I don't see much of a plan.'

SOUTH AFRICA'S UNIVERSITIES ARE FAILING

Our universities are failing to produce graduates with the range of skills necessary to underpin South Africa's development, said two of the country's top educationists, UCT vice-chancellor Max Price and Development Bank of South Africa policy analyst Graeme Bloch. ADRIAN HADLAND reports.

Price and Bloch spoke at a public debate hosted by the Isandla Institute in Cape Town entitled: 'Does higher education produce the knowledge, skills, competencies and people needed for South Africa's development?'

'If we want to be a winning nation, we've got to prepare our graduates in the right way,' Price told the audience. 'Employers say the quality of degrees and training is not good enough.'

A report in 2007 found that many of the country's graduates lacked communication skills, writing skills and the ability to think critically, Price said. The fault was often a learning system based on rote-learning rather than problem-solving and flexible thinking. While some universities fared better than others, all had to draw on a school system that was simply not preparing young people to succeed at the tertiary level.

NO PLAN, NO PROGRESS

Bloch, who is shortly publishing a book with the title *Toxic Mix* – what is wrong with South Africa's schools and how to fix it, said higher education in the country is poorly funded using an unhelpful model. Universities are forced to function on year-by-year budgets so they can barely develop even a three-year plan. This means their operating margins are hardly viable and students, inevitably, are the ones who end up being squeezed.

The lack of a national vision for the future of higher education is possibly one of the most serious problems for the sector, according to Bloch.

'We certainly don't have a plan, and therefore don't have buy-in,' he told the audience, expressing the hope that with the recent creation of a ministry dedicated to higher education that this might be addressed.

For the time being, he argued, universities

are failing to produce the skills and competencies necessary to fuel development with a cadre of trained professionals. 'Are we producing the skills? No. I don't think we are producing the architects, the accountants, the teachers ... or the skills of social critique. What are universities doing to provide those skills? I don't see much of a plan.'

In addition, universities are failing to engage with society or to grapple with important issues such as the meaning of the transition or the dynamics of our political life. This disengagement will lead to society growing disinterested in universities and their work and to the diminishment of the status and role of intellectuals.

UNEQUAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

A recent report indicated that as rapidly as the demographic profile of universities has changed over the last 15 years, racism continues to be a problem. 'At all our universities, black people feel uncomfortable, alienated and don't feel their institution works for them. This is a problem,' Bloch said. 'We need to take these issues really seriously.'

Price told the debate that between 30 and 40% of people who start at university finish their degrees. At UCT, closer to 75% got their degrees.

The quality of the school had a powerful influence on whether people would make it through university, with higher numbers of township schoolleavers falling by the wayside than had come through the Model C system.

'The schooling system is the bottleneck. But if we drop our [selection] criteria, the failure rate will go up to between 70 and 90% and that's not fair on them or on their families, who have often sacrificed so much'.

Price said that in order to fulfil their role in society to produce graduates, well-rounded citizens

and leaders, universities need to take a fresh look at themselves.

MERGED AND BLURRED

The merger of South Africa's higher education institutions has blurred the strengths and weaknesses of different universities, he argued. This means there is an over emphasis on research-oriented universities, such as UCT, and the marginalisation of universities that should be teaching more practical or more generic skills.

'That's not what the country needs,' Price said. 'Part of the reason we're failing is because we're not doing that differentiation.'

He pointed to the United States where higher education colleges are offering two-year bridging diplomas. Graduates from these colleges are sought after by the big universities because they can prove they have the stamina, independence and skills to achieve a tertiary qualification.

Price also questioned whether it is a university's role to produce graduates with the skills and competencies needed for development. 'Are we training institutions? Should we be de-emphasising the humanities and liberal arts?'

The first job of universities is to prepare citizens, leaders, 'people who can think', Price said. Overseas, that often means employers chasing graduates who have studied Latin, Greek and History and who have demonstrated the sophisticated critical skills necessary to succeed in the complex, modern workplace. 'What we need is a lot of leaders,' he said.

Dr Adrian Hadland is a director of the research programme on Democracy and Governance.

EXTRACLASSES = BETTER MARKS, OVER TIME

Extra classes for poor performers in grade 8 have long-term benefits which may not show clearly early on. This finding from an 18-month study brings hope that the big challenge of how to improve the performance of learners who are far below par at any school stage, specifically in mathematics and English, can still be met, writes CAS PRINSLOO.

The HSRC, Western Cape Education Department and Shuttleworth Foundation worked together to study the performance of a group of grade 8s after exposing them to an hour of extra tuition in mathematics and English during each of 20 weeks from August to November 2007.

The aim was for participating learners to gain ten percentage points more than a comparison group. And better performance in English and mathematics, researchers believed, would eventually spill over into other areas of learning.

About a hundred learners each from eight schools in the Metropole-South Education District, stretching from the Cape Flats to the small coastal towns on the Peninsula, participated in the study. Four schools formed a control group, while the other four received the extra teaching after school (project schools).

PERFORMANCE RESULTS

Tested directly after completion of the sessions, the results were not encouraging. The effects of the extra classes were not as strong as hoped for, and extra tuition seemed to have come too late for many learners.

But one year later, in analysing the results of the same learners who had in the meantime completed grade 9, the news was more optimistic.

It seems as if the 18 months that went by since the extra lessons had started brought clear benefits to project learners. This was true especially of those learners who had not missed more than three of the 20 sessions in grade 8.

There was even better news: when comparing

the year-end results of learners in the project group to those in the control group, the first group also showed widespread benefits across learning areas other than mathematics and English.

This brings hope that one can still address one of the education system's biggest challenges by improving the performance of learners who are far below par.

NEW KEY FINDINGS

- Learners from project schools who attended their mathematics lessons well gained 7.4 percentage points more over time than learners from the control group. The result was consistent across all project schools. It is therefore possible to improve learner performance as late as in grade 8 through an intervention of as little as six months, and even though initial effects may have been small, there is a lasting effect 12 to 18 months later, as long as learners and tutors are very committed.
- A similar but smaller gain for project-school learners was noted regarding the effect of English tuition on learner performance in English as an additional language. Learners from project schools who attended their English lessons consistently experienced a gain of 4.9 percentage points over time compared to the learners from control schools. This finding was consistent across all project schools except one, where no high-attendance learners were available to allow a comparison. Learners with English as a home language did not benefit significantly, perhaps because they already performed at the level at which the extra lessons

were taught, that is, addressing foundation-level knowledge gaps.

• The effect of initial tuition on learning areas other than mathematics and English was even stronger. English tuition in particular had very strong effects on later learner performance in Arts and Culture and Life Orientation (with learners from project schools gaining ten to 14 percentage points more over time than control-school learners). The greater benefits (from English tuition) to project-school learners were also in the range of eight to 12 percentage points more over time in numbers-based learning areas such as Mathematics, Economic and Management Sciences (EMS), Natural Sciences and Technology, especially after high attendance. Mathematics tuition also benefited learners' later performance in most of their other numbers-based subjects.

In conclusion, the findings support the focus on literacy and language development, as observed in the enduring and widespread benefits (across the curriculum). Such a focus should prevail from the Foundation Phase (grades R to 3).

FEATURES FOR FUTURE INTERVENTIONS

Implementation of more interventions such as this one seems to make good sense. Their core features would include the following conditions:

Extra tuition should be provided as soon as learners start falling behind in primary school (grades 4, 6, 7), but not later than early secondary school (grade 8).

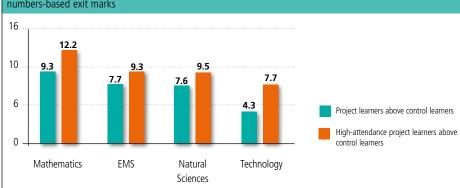


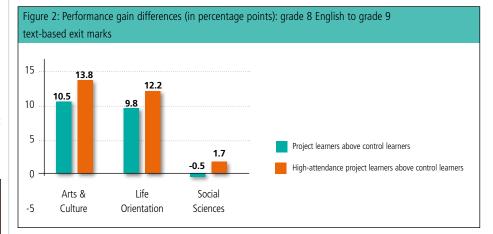
The greater benefits (from English tuition) to project-school learners were also in the range of eight to 12 percentage points more over time in numbers-based learning areas

- Extra classes should be internal ('home-grown') to the school in a convenient, neutral and fun venue with facilities, thus avoiding extra costs and practical difficulties.
- The classes should make use of a senior school coordinator and be run by the school's best teachers/tutors, who are proficient in all aspects of their subject and are highly motivated.
- Learners should volunteer for putting in the extra effort of about 20 one-hour extra lessons after school, focusing on catching up work that they struggle with, literacy/language first, mathematics next, but not simultaneously to avoid overload and to ensure high attendance.
- The classes should be driven by the district (and circuit), dealing with meals, transport, and security, varying lesson approach/nature of contents, with well-selected and well-designed worksheets, keeping learner groups below 20 to 25, openly dealing with concrete teacher/tutor incentives and rewards, and having a dedicated district manager for about six months.

THE RESEARCH REPORT, EXTRA CLASSES, EXTRA MARKS? REPORT ON THE PLUSTIME PROJECT, PRINSLOO, C.H. (2008); AND FOL-LOW-UP REPORTS, INCLUDING A TECHNICAL SUPPORT AND A SHORT SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, EXTRA CLASSES, BETTER MARKS ... ALSO LATER, MAY BE DOWNLOADED FROM www.hsrc.ac.za.

Figure 1: Performance gain differences (in percentage points): grade 8 English to grade 9 numbers-based exit marks





Dr Cas Prinsloo is a chief research specialist in the programme on Education, Science and Skills Development.

A GENERATION WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY

How many school-leavers find jobs the year after grade 12? And should they be in the labour market? In the following article MICHAEL COSSER addresses these and related questions.

study tracing the destinations of learners who were in grade 12 in 2005 has revealed that 9% of the group that participated in the study (40 002 matriculants) were working in 2006 – less than half the percentage (20%) of those who had aspired to a job.

Thirty-two per cent of the cohort (138 240 learners) were unemployed and seeking employment – a higher percentage than the official unemployment figure of Statistics SA's Labour Force Survey of 25.5% in September 2006.

LEARNERS IN EMPLOYMENT

Of the 9% of learners who were employed, the largest proportion – nearly a quarter (24%) – found employment by going from place to place asking for work. This finding represents a noteworthy departure from the situation in 2002, when an HSRC survey of the destinations of the grade 12 cohort of 2001 showed that only 12% found work through this means.

In 2006, 42% of all working learners found employment through networks operating within their spheres of activity.

On average, it took those learners who did find a job, 4.3 months before succeeding.

The three variables most strongly influencing learners' perceptions of what facilitated finding employment, were personality (4.3 on a 5-point Likert-type scale), ability to speak English well (4.3) and possession of a Senior Certificate (4.0). The only two factors that scored above 4 have to do with presentation in the interview. While having grade 12 was clearly important, it ranked only third in the table – and was far more influential for women (4.2) than for men (3.8).

Race exerted a negligible influence in learners' minds on their finding employment: the score was 2.3 for Africans and 1.6 for whites.

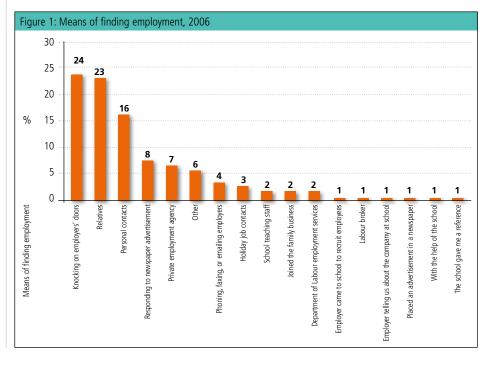
Not surprisingly, most of the first-time entrants into the labour market (77%) were working for a company or organisation, while 15% assisted someone else in a business. Fifty-seven per cent were employed in a private company, 24% in government or the public service, and 19% in a non-governmental or community-based organisation.

The vast majority of employed post-grade 12 learners were employed in the wholesale, retail, repairs and hotel sector (60%), followed by community, social, or personal services (14%), financial, insurance, real estate or business (11%) and construction (4%).

Thirty-nine per cent of those employed were working as service workers, shop and market sales workers, 20% were employed as clerks, 17% worked in elementary occupations, 8% as technicians and associate professionals, 7% as craft and related trades workers, 6% as plant and machine operators and assemblers, 2% as professionals, and 1% as legislators, senior officials and managers – again, a not unexpected finding given that these are learners straight out of school.

SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS DO NOT SKILL FOR WORK

Those employed rated alignment between the knowledge and skills they acquired at school and use of these attributes in their jobs at 3.6 on a 5-point scale. Seventy-one per cent indicated that their jobs were neither appropriate nor linked to their school qualifications, most indicating that they took the job because they needed to support themselves and or their families (76% of responses), that they could gain valuable experience in their current jobs (45% of responses),





and that they could not find a job linked to their level of education (37% of responses).

That the cohort of employed learners includes those working part-time (half of those employed) places the high percentage (71%) of learners who took jobs not linked to their schooling in perspective. However, only 7% of those employed ascribe their decision to take their current jobs to the need for the flexibility (being able to work where and when they want to) which part-time work affords them.

The high percentage of those employed who indicated that their jobs were neither appropriate nor linked to their school qualifications is a sobering comment – albeit from the learners' perspective – about the extent to which school is an adequate preparation ground for work.

UNEMPLOYED, BUT STUDYING

Sixty per cent of the sub-set of those not working (which includes those studying) were in need of employment, underscoring the extent to which studying and unemployment are not mutually exclusive categories for many South African youth – studying being used as a holding mechanism until the finding of a job.

The average length of time unemployed learners had been looking for employment was 8.5 months.

The reasons provided by the unemployed for their not having jobs included insufficiently high qualification levels (56%); the absence of job opportunities where they lived (48%); lacking the skills/experience for the job (35%); and having no money to look for work (23%). The first and third of these point to the mismatch between school supply and labour market demand, suggesting high under-qualification for employment.

Unemployed learners indicated that neither race (2.7), level of physical ability (2.4), nor gender (2.5)

had exerted any perceptible effect on their employment status.

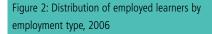
The five main strategies that according to respondents might have enhanced their employability were: acquiring more practical training (61% of responses); applying for more jobs (47%); moving to another area where there might be work (38%); sending a CV to employers (36%); and sending a CV to an employment agency (34%).

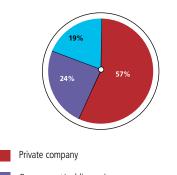
The high percentage of unemployed learners the year after school, the correspondingly low percentage of learners in employment, the high under-qualification for the labour market, and employers' apparent demand that learners bring experience to the job market, underscore the inherently skewed nature of post-school trajectories.

Learners should either be studying towards the achievement of a Senior Certificate the year after school (if they have failed at the first attempt), or be continuing with their studies – either in further or in higher education. That 41% of a school-leaving cohort enters the labour market in any one year signals a generation without opportunity.

If that generation is not to replicate itself – as Minister of Higher Education and Training, Dr Blade Nzimande pronounced in his budget speech – the multitude of young people (2.8 million) who are not employed, in education, or training, suggests that young people should be encouraged to remain in education for as long as possible.

This article is based on Michael Cosser and Sekinah Sehlola, Ambitions Revised: Grade 12 Learner Destinations One Year On, HSRC Press, 2009, available on www.hsrcpress.ac.za.

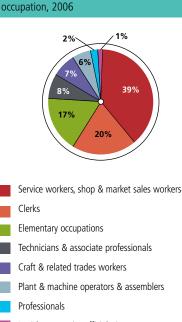




Government/public service

Non-governmental/community-based organisation

Figure 3: Distribution of employed learners by



Legislators, senior officials & managers

DOING TEACHING in South Africa

How much interest is there among our school-leavers in becoming teachers? Are we doing enough to recruit young people into the profession? And what is driving young people's choices of profession? This article, based on a study by MICHAEL COSSER and SEKINAH SEHLOLA, Ambitions Revised: Grade 12 Learner Destinations One Year On, addresses these topical questions.

ASPIRATION AND ENROLMENT

study tracing the destinations of a group of learners who were in grade 12 in 2005 has revealed that 13% of that group enrolled in higher education institutions in 2006. This compares with the 37% who had planned to do so. The aspirations gap – the difference between where learners aspire to be and where they end up – remains large, four years after the first transition study conducted by the HSRC, in which it was found that while 14% of the 2001 cohort enrolled in higher education institutions in 2002, a massive 71% had wanted to do so.

Though the aspirations gap narrowed in the 2005/06 study, the gap between enrolments in education and enrolments in other higher education programmes in the 2006 study is enormous. While 30% of those who enrolled in higher education enrolled in business/commerce, 20% in the social sciences, and 15% each in engineering and the natural sciences, only 3% enrolled in an education programme. Still, this is two percentage points higher than the percentage that had planned in 2005 to enrol in an education programme preferences and enrolments, this was the smallest percentage of students that had wanted to enrol in, and ended up enrolling in, education studies.

SHOULD WE BE WORRIED?

In relation to the size of the teaching profession (the Department of Education is one of the largest public sector employers), and given the importance of teachers as the backbone of the education system and as the mediators of foundational learning in the country, the smallest numbers of programme preferences and actual enrolments (3 709 and 6 439 respectively), were in education.

The three strongest influences on student enrolment in education were: 'The range of career opportunities that a qualification in education opens up' (3.9 on a 5-point Likert-type scale); 'Being assured of getting a job if you study education' (3.9); and 'The flexibility that studying education gives you to enter another programme area' (3.8). All three have to do with the extent to which studying education facilitates mobility – possibly away from the teaching profession. For many students, then, education enrolment may simply be a means to other ends.

We should be worried.

PROFESSIONAL ASPIRATION

The picture differs slightly when we consider the professional aspirations of those students in the cohort who enrolled in higher education in 2006.

Teaching, we see in Figure 1, occupies a middling position in the hierarchy of aspirations – considerably fewer students plan to enter the teaching profession (9 386) than engineering (41 654) and accounting (35 378). A comparison of student enrolments in education and student aspirations to enter the teaching profession shows that only 2 953 of the students who planned to become teachers were not enrolled in an education programme in 2006 – that is, they were enrolled in another qualification programme (for example, a BA, BSc or BCom) but planned to enter the teaching profession after the attainment of a postgraduate certificate or diploma in education.

But whether one sets more store by enrolments or professional aspirations, the numbers remain discouraging.

INFLUENCES ON ASPIRATION

The strongest influences on students' decisions to enter the teaching profession were: 'Wanting to make a difference to the lives of all South Africans through working in the profession'(4.4); 'A passion for the profession' (4.2); and 'Wanting to enter the profession since you were young' (4.0).

The variables which exerted a noticeably higher influence upon choice of teaching as a profession than upon choice of any of the other professions were the first and third: 'Wanting to make a difference to the lives of all South Africans through working in the profession'; and 'Wanting to enter the profession since you were young'. Aspirant teachers' passion for the profession (the second variable above) was surpassed by the passion of aspirant built environmentalists, medical practitioners and accountants for their chosen professions.

TEACHING, THE 'NO, BILL!' PROFESSION?

As the strongest of the influences on students' decisions to enter the teaching profession suggests, teaching remains the 'noble' profession alluded to in the following excerpt from *Time* magazine:

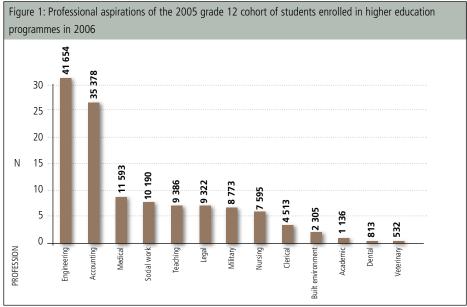
If the country wants to pay teachers like professionals – according to their



performance, rather than like factory workers logging time on the job – it has to provide them with other professional opportunities, like the chance to grow in the job, learn from the best of their peers, show leadership and have a voice in decision-making, including how their work is judged. Making such changes would require a serious investment by school districts and their taxpayers. But it would reinvigorate a noble profession (C. Wallis, How to make great teachers, Time, 13 February 2008).

The juxtaposition of remuneration and nobility in this excerpt suggests that the operative word is not 'noble' but 'profession': if teachers behave like professionals, they deserve to be remunerated accordingly. Aspirant teachers are under no illusions about teacher salaries. The amount of money to be made in this profession is ranked far lower by student teachers as a variable exerting an influence on their choice of profession than by students wanting to enter any other profession.

But as Wallis's conditional formulation 'If the country wants to pay teachers like professionals ... it has to provide them with other professional opportunities' suggests, the profession–pay nexus is a vicious circle. Professional behaviour warrants professional remuneration; but what incentive is there besides remuneration in the South African context – where (perversely enough) teaching, one of the only occupations previously open to Africans, has



now been eclipsed by a host of others – to inculcate professional behaviour? This would seem to pose a dilemma for the education authorities, who might well be prepared to reward teachers for delivering on key indicators, like improved learner outcomes, but for the fact that teacher salaries already constitute the largest drain on the education fiscus.

Differentiating teacher remuneration according to professional behaviour – the logical conclusion to this line of argument – may well be the first step toward acknowledging that inflexibility is not the way to proceed in moving the South African schooling system up the value chain.

AMBITIONS REVISED: GRADE 12 LEARNER DESTINATIONS ONE YEAR ON, BY MICHAEL COSSER AND SEKINAH SEHLOLA (HSRC PRESS) IS AVAILABLE FOR FREE DOWNLOAD OR TO ORDER FROM www.hsrcpress.ac.za.

Mr Michael Cosser is a chief research specialist in the programme on Education, Science and Skills Development and Sekinah Sehlola is a research intern in the same programme.

post-school qualifications

do they bring equity and diversity in employment?



JOCELYN VASS reports on a study which analysed the progress towards diversity in the employment patterns for different sub-categories of post-school qualifications.

The study, commissioned by the Department of Labour, forms part of a larger study aiming to understand the progress made towards the achievement of more equitable representation of designated groups in the workforce, which has been a key objective in the transformation of post-apartheid South Africa.

Given that senior, top management and professional occupations generally require a post-school qualification, this study analysed the progress towards diversity in the employment patterns for different subcategories of post-school qualifications.

The study used the benchmark employed by the Commission for Employment Equity (CEE), i.e. the proportion of designated groups in the economically active population (or EAP target).

The Employment Equity Act, Section 20(3) promotes the notion of merit by providing for the advancement of designated groups (black Africans, coloureds, Indians, women and people with disabilities) who are suitably qualified, rather than on group membership alone, whether that is race, sex or disability.

KEY FINDINGS

In general, more than two-thirds of the formal workforce had a matric qualification or less. In comparison, only 23% of the formally employed had a post-school qualification.

The results suggest that in the formal sector, the absorption of those with matric and a certificate/diploma, or a degree, remained static and relatively small compared to people with lower qualifications.

This imbalance between the employment trends of those with pre-tertiary and tertiary qualifications may partly be a reflection of the inability of the tertiary education system to improve enrolment and graduation rates on a scale and of a quality required in the economy. Further, the ability to address the skills shortage effectively is also impaired as occupations with an observed skills shortage generally require a post-school qualification, for instance among artisans, engineering, the medical professions and so forth.

Among the employed with post-school qualifications, while more than half had a certificate/diploma with matric by 2005, their employment share had shrunk from 61% to 52%. At the same time, the demand for those with degrees grew from 31% to 40% over the period while the demand for those with less than matric and a certificate/diploma remained very low.

THE ROLE OF A CERTIFICATE/DIPLOMA WITH MATRIC IN CREATING DIVERSITY

The results suggest that some progress was made in inclusive employment patterns in the dominant postschool qualification (a certificate/diploma with matric), especially for blacks. As shown in Figure 1, this was largely driven by increased employment of Africans (53%), growing at an average annual rate of 5.4%. However, Africans were still 21% short of reaching the equitable target of 74% of the EAP. The employment of coloureds grew very slowly, and by 2005, at 8% they were just below their EAP target of 10%. Indians were employed at 4% above their EAP target (3.1%). In spite of the declining share of whites, they were still over-represented, more than three times their EAP share.

When factoring in the role of gender, there was a growing proportion of women and by 2005 the gender ratio was 50:50. In fact, women were overrepresented in terms of their EAP target of 45.7%. This relative advantage was well distributed among black women (including coloured and Asian), whereas black African women dominated this type of employment, even though by 2005 they were still 6% short of their target of 34%. At that time, the employment of African women exceeded that of white men (19%), but both white men and women were still over-represented, despite declining shares.

Despite the growing employment of black African men, this group was still under-represented, as was the case with coloured men, who were employed (4%) at less than half their EAP target.

THE ROLE OF DEGREES IN CREATING DIVERSITY

A more nuanced picture emerges when assessing the effect of population group and gender on the employment of those with degrees. Here whites dominated and were over-represented by a massive margin, as shown in Figure 2. However, there was a gradual narrowing of the black–white gap, as the white share declined from 62% in 1998 to 51% in 2005. At the same time the black share increased from 38% to 49%, growing at an annual average rate of 12.8% – faster than any of the other post-school qualifications.

This increase was largely driven by the near doubling of the African share from 24% to 40% over the period but not at a rate fast enough to catch up with the employment share of whites (51%). Coloured employment (4%) was at less than half their EAP target, while Indians were exceeding theirs.

When factoring in the effect of gender, results show that the gender ratio became more equitable over the period in line with EAP targets. This was largely due to the gains made by African and white women. For instance, the employment of African women with degrees increased at 15.3% p a, but from a relatively low base.

On the other hand, white women were primary beneficiaries of transformation in employment levels as their share grew at more than double (9.1%) the average annual rate of white males (4%). Thus, the employment improvements among blacks with degrees were very uneven.

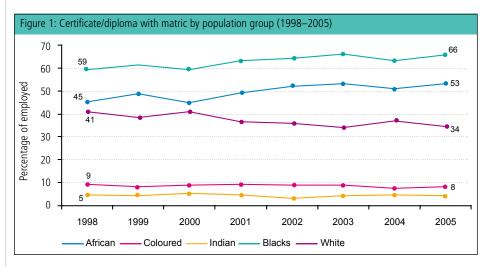
INTERPRETING THE RESULTS

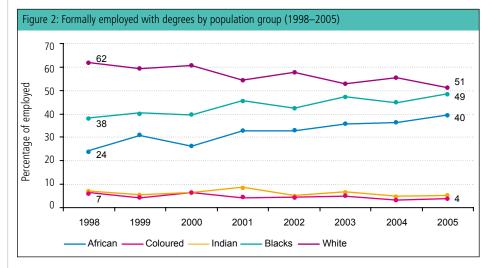
In conclusion, the results suggest that progress towards greater diversity in employment patterns was mixed, depending on the sub-category of qualification. The best progress towards diversity was achieved in employment requiring a mid-level qualification (matric with a certificate/diploma), as all designated groups were represented close to, at, or above their respective EAP targets. This may partly be a reflection of the fact that at this level of qualification the tertiary system has historically had greater capability to produce more blacks and women. However, employment preferences in this labour market for whites were still evident.

The greatest challenge for diversity remains for employment that requires degrees. On the one hand, there was a substantial closing of the white—black gap (52:48) by the end of the period. On the other hand, despite rapid growth in the employment of black Africans with degrees, and a declining annual share of white males, whites continued to be over-represented by a massive margin compared to their EAP target. A number of factors may be at play here. Firstly, the rapid growth in African employment indicated that there are suitably qualified Africans available who are employable. However, there may not be enough of them, as it is often argued that unemployment among black graduates may be attributed to a skills mismatch between their acquired qualifications and those required in the economy.

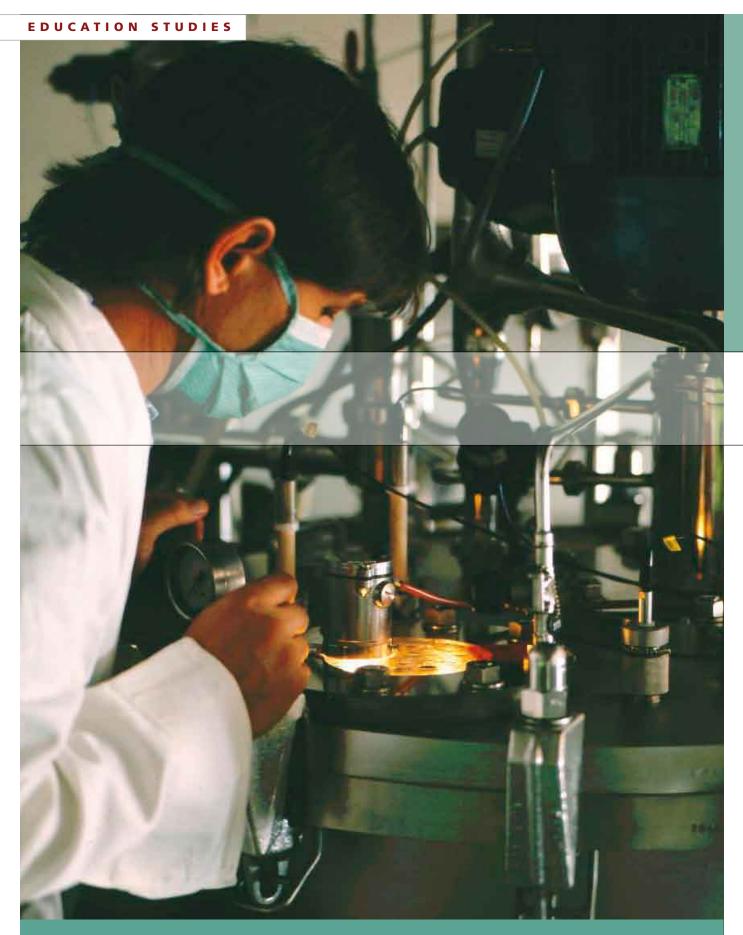
Secondly, the decline in the annual white male share may be an indication of a more conscious attempt to transform and diversify hiring practices in the labour market. However, and more controversially, white males may be the sacrificial lamb in the quest for equity by employers, as there are no declines in the high employment shares of white women with degrees.

The continued classification of white women as a designated group, given their high and continued rates of over-representation in the post-apartheid labour market, may begin to represent an obstacle to the progress of other designated groups.





Jocelyn Vass is a chief research manager in the research programme on Education, Science and Skills Development. The full report, Demand for designated groups with formal post-school qualifications: 1998–2005, Vass, JR, Roodt, J, & Qingqwa, S, is available on www.hsrc.ac.za.



A positive relationship between the public and science and technology has many advantages, such as facilitating an improved quality of life for the individual and thus contributing to the country's social development; contributing to a more educated and skilled workforce and thus boosting economic development; and assisting the country's efforts in consolidating democracy and citizenship.

PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE IS CRUCIAL

South Africa has not undertaken a systematic, comprehensive and nuanced assessment of the public understanding and engagement with science. Why is this important? VIJAY REDDY, ANDREA JUAN and MICHAEL GASTROW explain.

WHAT DOES SCIENCE DO FOR ME?

n the past, science and technology have been seen as exclusive to formal education, but in the last few decades a number of countries have acknowledged the importance of these subjects for the general public, and have initiated programmes to ensure that the public is informed about science knowledge.

A positive relationship between the public and science and technology has many advantages, such as facilitating an improved quality of life for the individual and thus contributing to the country's social development; contributing to a more educated and skilled workforce and thus boosting economic development; and assisting the country's efforts in consolidating democracy and citizenship.

The Department of Science and Technology's (DST) 10-Year Plan recognises the importance and impact that these subjects have on the public and how, in turn, the public can shape the course of science and technology. The DST plan notes that it is important to support the public's understanding and engagement with science if South Africa is to become an innovative society – that is, we have a responsibility to ensure a positive relationship between science and society.

THIS ARTICLE IS BASED ON A REPORT, *SCIENCE AND THE PUBLICS: A REVIEW OF PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF SCIENCE STUDIES* (2009), BY THE THREE AUTHORS. THE FULL REPORT IS AVAILABLE ON www.hsrc.ac.za. But South Africa does not yet have a systematic, comprehensive and nuanced assessment of the relationship between science and the public.

The HSRC was therefore commissioned by the South African Agency for Science and Technology Advancement (SAASTA) to review existing studies, both internationally and nationally, with a view to determining how South Africa can initiate programmes to enhance the relationship between the public and science.

We reviewed the international and national studies on the public's relationship with science and make recommendations on what to do further in South Africa.

OBSERVATIONS FROM OUR REVIEW

Our review shows that South Africa has not undertaken a systematic, comprehensive and nuanced assessment of the public understanding and engagement with science. The Foundation for Education, Science and Technology (FEST) surveys, conducted in the 1990s, used items from surveys conducted in other countries and were administered to largely urban areas.

Similarly, the HSRC surveys of the 1990s included a set of items, without a framework, measuring

general attitudes towards Science and Technology. A critique of these surveys includes questions about their validity, the reliability and appropriateness of items, the language and means in which the surveys were administered to the South African public, and the samples used.

However, in the last few years South Africa has focused on undertaking surveys on specialised topics like biotechnology and climate change. It is important that we undertake further studies, designed for the general South African public, to measure their understanding and engagement with science.

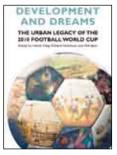
In looking at this domain of the public and science, the review proposes a framework of the relationship between the public(s) and science and technology. This framework encompasses the dimensions of the stratified nature of South African society; the attitudes, values and knowledge of the public(s); and the communication and awareness programmes.

To enhance the relationships between science and the public, such a framework must consider both science and the public as important stakeholders in the relationship. It should acknowledge that each affects the other, unlike previous frameworks which gave science a position of power and perceived the public to be more or less deficient.

Dr Vijay Reddy is an executive director and head of the Education, Science and Skills Development programme. Ms Andrea Juan, a Master's intern, and Michael Gastrow, a chief researcher, work in the same programme.

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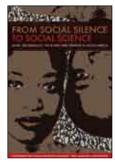


DEVELOPMENT AND DREAMS: THE URBAN LEGACY OF THE 2010 FOOTBALL WORLD CUP Udesh Pillay, Richard Tomlinson & Orli Bass (eds)

With less than 300 days to go until the start of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, *Development and Dreams: The urban legacy of the 2010 Football World Cup* considers the effects of South Africa's hosting the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The contributors to this volume, both academics and development practitioners, provide an interdisciplinary perspective on the probable consequences of the 2010

Football World Cup for the economy of South Africa and its cities, on infrastructure development, and on the projection of African culture and identity. The management, costs and benefits associated with the World Cup are put under the spotlight, as are the uncertain economic and employment benefits of such mega-events. The debates over venue selection, investment in infrastructure, tourism and fan-park sites are analysed, and the less tangible hopes, dreams and aspirations associated with the World Cup are explored.

Academics, policy-makers and the reading public will find this book an invaluable companion as South Africa prepares to host the world's largest sporting event. Soft cover, 328pp, ISBN 978-07969-2250-2, R 190.00, 2009

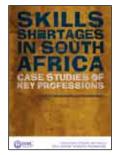


FROM SOCIAL SILENCE TO SOCIAL SCIENCE: SAME-SEX SEXUALITY, HIV & AIDS AND GENDER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Vasu Reddy, Theo Sandfort & Laetitia Rispel (eds)

What do we know about homosexual transmission in the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa and why the silence? From Social Silence to Social Science: Same-sex sexuality, HIV & AIDS and Gender in South Africa presents a unique and innovative effort to examine what we know about homosexual transmission of HIV and AIDS in

South Africa. This book reverses the trend whereby categories of same sex sexual practice are almost always excluded from research of HIV and AIDS, as well as from care and intervention programmes. The varied contributors (academics, activists and programme planners) draw attention to the risk behaviours and treatment needs of people who engage in homosexual sex, and explain why same-sex sexuality has to be seen as key within South African efforts to study, test and prevent HIV infection. Relevant to scholarly



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debates about HIV and AIDS, it is also essential reading for anyone involved in research, policy-making, advocacy and community development.

SKILLS SHORTAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA: CASE STUDIES OF KEY PROFESSIONS Johan Erasmus & Mignonne Breier (eds)

Skills shortages in South Africa are widely seen as a major obstacle to the achievement of targeted economic growth rates. Yet there is some dispute as to the nature and extent of these shortages, given the large number of unemployed graduates. The case studies presented in this monograph explore the question of shortage in nine key professions and artisanal trades, and find evidence of skills scarcity in most fields. The case studies provide insight into the reasons for shortages and surpluses in relation to South Africa's own context and history. They also consider the international market for knowledge and skills, in which South African qualifications are highly prized.

Vital for planners and policy-makers in higher education, this report will also be of interest to economists and sociologists as well as anyone involved in career guidance and mentorship of prospective students.

Soft cover, 288pp, ISBN 978-07969-2266-3, R 160.00, 2009



TEACHER GRADUATE PRODUCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Andrew Paterson & Fabian Arends

The quality of any national education system depends on its teachers. In recent years in South Africa, teacher supply has become a matter of national concern. This monograph examines changes in enrolment and graduation patterns of education students at higher education institutions which are pivotal suppliers of especially the initial professional educa-

tion of teachers, but also the continuing professional development of practising teachers. The study is based on an uninterrupted time series of institutional data from 1995–2004, which supports a uniquely fine-grained analysis of long-term teacher graduate demographic trends that impact on the present. Major emerging trends which are highlighted in this monograph include the diminishing participation of young African women enrolled for initial professional education of teachers in the post-millennium period, and the fact that access to teacher education study is in predominantly urban universities. *Soft cover, 144pp, ISBN 978-07969-2269-4, R 150.00, 2009*



TEENAGE TATA: VOICES OF YOUNG FATHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sharlene Swartz & Arvin Bhana

Teenage Tata: Voices of young fathers in South Africa provides a fresh and in-depth portrait of impoverished young South African men who became fathers while teenagers. It provides space for their articulate and impassioned voices to be heard amidst the outcry against the absence of fathers, and offers insights into young fathers' personal, emotional, financial and cultural struggles as they come to terms with father-

hood. The study highlights young fathers' strong sense of responsibility; poignant accounts of emotional engagement with their children and the women in their lives; the motivating power of young fathers' own absent fathers on their parenting intentions; their desire for sex- and relationship-education from male family members and their clear recognition of the help they need. Based on a multi-interview qualitative study in the informal settlements and townships around Cape Town and Durban, this monograph offers methodological innovations and showcases how social network interviews offer great potential for both research and intervention.

Soft cover, 136pp, ISBN 978-07969-2287-8, R 150.00, 2009

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